1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
571 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other villages with whom there is *no* prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a marriage and usually do *not* do so. There are many villagers who have stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *kan-ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new *ch'in ch'i* relationships through marriage outside the village provide strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage, though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are acceptable and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Taiwan;[9] and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
591 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrangements. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between
829 families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

mentally defective ("stupid"); one villager said that the "former Japanese emperor Ta Cheng was a stupid person because his family always arranged marriages with their own kinsmen."

In a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, bringing her back to live in the home of her father's sister. The villagers call this "following the aunt." In village opinion this kind of marriage is all right as long as there is good *han-ch'ing* between the families. Since mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were both born in the same village and the same patrilineal kinship group, they are likely to have much in common and, thus, perhaps have a warmer relationship than usual, which tends to reduce the possibility of domestic conflict. To the villagers this kind of marriage is similar to a match arranged between the children of two families which are friends; no one criticizes or gossips about such marriages.

In a matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage a young man marries the daughter of his mother's sister, bringing her home to live in the house of her maternal aunt. This kind of marriage is generally approved, since to the villagers the kinship ties between the two families barely exist. Kinship terms for matrilateral parallel-cousins do exist, but not many villagers use them. A partner in such a marriage is thus not necessarily marrying someone designated by label as a kinsman. The bride has been born into an entirely different kinship group than her mother's sister, and before marriage she did not refer to her aunt's husband or son by formal kinship terms; they were only recognized as unlabeled *ch'in ch'i*. In village opinion, therefore, marriage of a girl to her matrilateral parallel-cousin is almost like marriage to a stranger. This is much different from marriage with either cross-cousin, "who are always clearly thought of as some kind of relative by birth." (See Appendix 2 for a further discussion of cousin terminology and for a listing of kinship terminology in Hsin Hsing village.)

Hsin Hsing village's representative to the *hsiang* council provided the following estimates which bear out the villagers' attitudes towards cousin marriage noted above.[10] By his estimate, in Hsin Hsing village, and probably in the area generally, less than 0.5 percent of the village males marry their father's sister's daughter (patrilateral cross-cousin). About 1.5 percent marry their mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral cross-cousin), and about 2.0 percent marry their mother's sister's daughter (matrilateral parallel-cousin). In other words, it is this informant's opinion that "Only about 4 percent of the marriages are with *ch'in ch'i;* the remainder [or 96 percent] are marriages with strangers or friends."

Just as the people of the Hsin Hsing village area think it preferable, for the most part, not to have cousin marriage, there also seems to be

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

interesting that of these 41 cases traced about 14 women, almost 35 percent of the total, were married into relatively urban places, including the 9 who went to Lukang. This is consistent with the attitude expressed by many villagers, that they prefer to marry their daughters to men doing work other than farming, since they feel that farming is a hard and insecure life.

Siaosiv and "Adopted Husband" Marriage

There are two other forms of marriage in the Hsin Hsing area. Both of them have decreased in frequency but are nevertheless still relatively important. These forms are especially important to relatively poor villagers, since they offer an institutional means of facilitating the marriage of people who might otherwise have financial difficulty.

One form which has been popular and frequently occurs in the Hsin Hsing area is what Fei (1939:53), writing about Kaihsienkung on the mainland, refers to as the

siaosiv system, *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the *siaosiv* do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them.

The system in the Hsin Hsing village area, although not referred to as the *siaosiv* system, has basically the same form and function. However, because there are certain important differences in attitudes and details of operation between it and its Kaihsienkung counterpart, the system as practiced in the Hsin Hsing area will be taken up later in the discussion of adoption.

The other form of marriage, and the least common, is a matrilocal (or more precisely uxorilocal) type in which a man marries and goes to live with his wife's family. He is usually referred to by the villagers as an "adopted husband." At the time of the marriage, the two families assume a *ch'in ch'i* relationship just as in any ordinary marriage. The boy's family sends a small dowry, and the girl's family provides the couple with the necessary bedroom furniture, which is the reverse of the practice in an ordinary marriage. In the Hsin Hsing area, unlike similar practices on the Chinese mainland and in Japan, the husband always seems to retain his own surname, but in going to live with his wife's family he accepts the authority of his father-in-law.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

583 192 558 Therefore, there is a certain social stigma attached to the adopted husband. The villagers often refer to such a husband as a *chui hsu* or a *chao fu*, terms which in themselves may indicate some feeling of derision. While the terms, as compounds, generally mean a son-in-law who lives with his wife's family, taken separately there is a derogatory quality in the individual components of the compounds. For example, *hsu* means son-in-law, but the literal meaning of the other word of the compound, *chui*, is irrelevant, useless, or a parasite. In the second compound, although *fu* has the general meaning of husband or man, *chao* means to beckon, to call, or to give notice.

583 558 Although the institution of husband adoption is recognized as a necessity in some cases, most villagers look down on such a husband and, in a sense, consider him an incomplete man. There are jokes made about adopted husbands, sometimes even in their presence, and if a man is henpecked or does chores for his wife which a woman would normally do for herself, the villagers are likely to say he is "being like an adopted husband." The attitudes of the other village men toward the adopted husband vary according to the kind of person he is, but generally such a man finds it difficult to win the respect of his peers. Unless he is an aggressive person, he is unlikely to speak out in a male group, since he knows the other men will pay little attention to him. For this reason, few men or their families will agree to a marriage by adoption unless the family is very poor, has little or no land for the son to inherit, and cannot afford a regular marriage for him. The men in Hsin Hsing village who have become adopted husbands were usually at the average marriageable age for men at the time of adoption; they were not adopted into the girl's family in their youth or at any time before the actual marriage.

The family wishing to adopt a husband for their daughter must offer some firm reward such as land or money. Then, sometimes a poor and perhaps ambitious but "thick-skinned" man will agree to become an adopted husband. The boy may know and like the girl and so be willing to give himself for adoption as a husband.

583 The family which brings in a husband for their daughter may do so out of a need for the man's labor or from a desire to have descendants. Perhaps the more common situation solved by such an adoption is when a family has a marriageable daughter and a much younger son who, because of his youth, will be unable to work the family land for a 583 number of years. Frequently, there is a written or verbal contract 675 which stipulates the terms of the marriage by adoption. The agreement in a situation like the one just described is usually effected for a specific number of years, or at least until the wife's younger brother is [591] old enough to take over the management of the family's land. The husband agrees to live in his wife's family home, accept the authority

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period. 583 675 [591]

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family. 583 675 591 594 [558]

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children. 583 591

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property 583 551 611 428

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[For additional information relating to rules of residence, see category 583 and 584.]

in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did. What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage? What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so, it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is the form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

upon the preferred form of marriage. It is therefore both convenient and appropriate for us to begin our description of marriage practices in Hsiachichou with the preferred patrilocal marriage.

Theoretically at least, a preferred marriage may involve any man and woman previously unmarried who are not of the same surname, marriage between people of the same surname being considered incestuous. In fact, however, the selection of a bride in Hsiachichou has always been guided by other equally important though somewhat less formal considerations. At the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned marriage between persons of different mainland origins was unthinkable even when both parties were speakers of Hokkien. Frequent armed conflicts between the Changchou and Chuanchou sectors of the society created a strong sense of antagonism and mutual suspicion, and as a result ethnic lines were sharply drawn and seldom violated. As we have mentioned in discussing the general character of the village, it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou, a Chuanchou village. More recently, this particular distinction has lost some of its former significance. One elderly villager told us that "Changchou people still tell their children to marry a person from Changchou, and Chuanchou people still tell their sons to marry a Chuanchou girl," but despite such attitudes marriages between the two groups have been less uncommon during the last twenty years. Although one can still identify families of different origins by the gods they worship and the way in which they sacrifice to their ancestors, many younger people are unaware of the significance of these

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǎu-ziâ̍t, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǎu ziâ̍t, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

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585 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how
591 unattractive or incompetent her husband, she must make her life in their
152 home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

less interest in extending their kinship ties than many anthropologists have been led to suppose. According to informants in Hsiachichou, one of the advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage is that it saves one the trouble and expense of additional relatives. That most families enter into the sīm-pûà form of marriage with the expectation that the affinal ties will remain latent is indicated by a simple comparison with the preferred patrilocal marriage. Whereas the parties to the preferred marriage make elaborate inquiries concerning one another's social statuses, the parties to a sīm-pûà marriage are typically concerned with nothing more than the child's health.

In the case of Hsiachichou the customs characterizing matrilocal marriage are not as easily described as those which characterize either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage. For one thing, the procedures by which one arranges a matrilocal marriage are not clearly defined, the attitude of the villagers being that one arranges a matrilocal marriage as best one can. For another, there are several categories of matrilocal marriage, each of which has some distinctive characteristics. When a villager says of any particular marriage that the husband was "called in" he may be referring to any one of these different arrangements. One extreme form includes those husbands, who, from a structural point of view, may be considered male brides. At the time of their marriage these men resign their place in their own line of descent and take on instead the obligations and privileges of a son in their wives' line. Like a woman in either the preferred form of marriage or the sīm-pûà marriage, they replace their father's surname

with the surname of their spouse, and in so doing they tactitly agree that their children will all follow in that line of descent. But while this form of marriage is recognized as legitimate, and is indeed taken as the model for matrilocal marriages, such marriages are not at all common in Hsiachichou. We know of only 2 marriages which could be classified as examples of this extreme form.

Much more common in the case of Hsiachichou is a form of marriage which involves a compromise between the paternal and maternal principlex. Rather than entirely resigning his proper position in his own line of descent, the male who makes such a marriage retains his own surname, and also makes provision that at least one of his male offspring will take this name. At the time of the marriage, for example, it may be agreed that the first born son will take the mother's surname, leaving the other children to acquire their descent in the normal way. Men who make such marriages ordinarily take up more or less permanent residence with their wives' parents with the result that they become sons of the family in effect if not in name. They contribute their earnings and their labor to the general welfare of the family; they recognize the authority of the wife's father as head of the household; and they often inherit from their wife's parents. The extent of the obligations of such a husband to his wife's parents is considered a negotiable matter, however, and in some cases the man may only agree to spend some specific period of time as a member of the wife's household, the arrangement being that after this time has elapsed he is free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê. In

583 611 591 such cases the children who bear the wife's surname will ordinarily accompany their parents when the household is divided, but they nonetheless remain in the mother's father's line of descent, and it is to their mother's parents that they must look for their inheritance.

583 581 591 611 At the opposite extreme from the marriage in which the husband becomes a son of the family is the case in which he takes up residence with his wife's family without any prejudice to his rights as a father. The man agrees to live with his wife's parents and to accept their authority with regard to family finances and the daily management of the household, but he retains his own surname and the right to see all of his children acquire their descent in the normal way. As in the case in which there is some compromise of the normal rule of descent, the length of time the husband is obliged to live with his wife's parents is negotiable, and this is commonly some specifically limited period of time. Such marriages frequently involve a family whose daughters are a number of years older than the family's eldest son. Fearing that they will not be able to support themselves until their sons are old enough to assume responsibility, the parents arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of temporary support. The husband receives his wife on the understanding that he will help to support her parents until their sons are old enough to assume this responsibility, at which time he will be free to take his wife and children and establish an independent kê in the normal manner. Such marriages do not involve any distortion of the normal rule of patrilineal descent, and only a temporary qualification of the usual economic and social alignments.

a family living in Hsiachichou took a mainland Chinese as a son-in-law. While the villagers may be prejudiced against marriages with Chinese from the mainland, any son-in-law is better than no son-in-law at all.

One final form of marriage should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. This is what the villagers refer to as a ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage. When a man marries into his wife's family he is spoken of as "having been called in," ciŏu-zĭp; and when a woman marries out of her family she is spoken of as having "left the family," chŭa-chŭt. A ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage is thus a marriage in which "the man enters and the woman leaves." As the term suggests, this form of marriage is a compromise between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms of marriage. What happens in practice is that the woman takes up residence in her husband's home in the usual way, while the husband assumes some degree of financial responsibility for his wife's parents. In most marriages of this kind the children take their father's surname, although some informants claim that it is possible for one child to take the mother's surname. To date only one such marriage has occurred in Hsiachichou, but they are said to be fairly common in cities such as Taipei, and one can easily see that they might very well become more common in Hsiachichou in the future. As we shall see, recent changes on Taiwan have given younger villagers more and more authority with regard to marriage, and as a result it is becoming more and more difficult for parents to force their daughters into matrilocal marriages. It may therefore be that in the future many families will have to settle for the ciŏu-zĭp-chŭa-chŭt marriage in place of

*597 away a child if they did have a use for her. Of 10 girls born into
*562 families who were clearly among the wealthiest in Hsiachichou in the
182 years before 1930 we find that 6 were given away in adoption, and of 18 girls born into families who were definitely poor at that time 5 were raised as members of their natal families. Most families with female children kept at least one of their girls, and almost all families with more than one female child gave at least one girl away in adoption. Of 57 women who bore at least one female child 39 (68 percent) raised at least one of these children, and of 30 mothers who bore two or more female children 28 (93 percent) gave away at least one of these children.

*597 As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, a family can
*583 achieve the goal of social continuity in several ways. They can arrange
*562 one of the two forms of patrilocal marriage for a son or an adopted son
591 or they can arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter or an adopted
182 daughter. A patrilocal marriage is always preferred over a matrilocal marriage when a family has a choice, but when they have no sons most families will gladly arrange a matrilocal match for a daughter. The perpetuation of the family is the goal, the forms of marriage only the means. We therefore find that one of the considerations which often enters into a family's decision about giving away a female child is their estimate of the possibility that the family may need to resort to a matrilocal marriage. If a family sees some possibility of this, they will usually be reluctant to give away their female children; while if they see little possibility of needing to resort to such a marriage,

*597 they will be much more inclined to save themselves the expense of
*562 raising their female children. One villager made the point very bluntly,
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• 591 saying, "A daughter is only of use to you if you need her to bring a
182 man into the family. Otherwise, she is just something you lose money
on and you might as well give her away."

*597 A second consideration which often enters into these decisions
*562 concerns the family's need for female labor. Hokkien women do not
462 ordinarily work in the fields as do their Hakka neighbors, and until
182 very recently there was little opportunity for a woman to find any kind
of wage employment. On the other hand, there is a great deal of work
which must be done by women. They make and mend most of the family's
clothing; they preserve and store various kinds of vegetables; it is
usually the women in the family who prepare pig slop and look after the
family's ducks and geese; they often have as many as five or six children
to care for; and on top of all of this there is the huge task of cooking
*597 for a large family on a handsome but primitive stove. Some of this
859 work is too heavy or demands too much skill for a child, but there is
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182 a great deal of it with which a child can be very helpful. As soon as
she is eight or nine years old a girl can begin to help her mother with
the cooking and house cleaning, and as early as five or six years a
girl may be set the task of looking after her younger siblings. It is
not at all uncommon in Hsiachichou to see a girl of six years carrying
her two or three year old brother for whom she is given total responsi-
*597 bility for the greater part of the day. The value of a female child
*562 for these purposes naturally depends upon the amount of work to be done
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CHAPTER 9

MARRIAGE BY ADOPTION

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• 591 The first decision the family of a new born male child must make is whether they are going to raise the child as a member of their own kê or give him in adoption; and, if they decide to retain him as a member, they must then make some decision about his marriage. Since very few families need consider seriously the possibility of giving a male child in adoption, it is usually the decision about the boy's marriage which is most pressing. As we shall see later, a number of men who were born into Hsiachichou made matrilocal marriages, but this is not a possibility ordinarily envisioned by a boy's parents when he is still a child. The assumption is always that every male not given in adoption will marry patrilocally and become an heir in his father's line of descent. Matrilocal marriages only occur as a result of unusual circumstances which cannot ordinarily be foreseen by a child's parents. Thus, the decision for a family with a male child is usually seen as involving a choice between the sim-pûa form of marriage and the preferred patrilocal marriage. Should a female child be adopted and raised as the boy's wife, or should the family wait and obtain a bride for him in the preferred way? The question is a complex one which may have a crucial influence on the family's fortunes, and most families make their decision only after the most careful deliberations.

*597 The first and most important of these considerations we have already discussed in the last two chapters. In the early decades of this century many families adopted a female child as a means of obtaining a wife for one of their sons. By adopting a girl and raising her themselves they could save the expense of the preferred form of marriage, and in introducing the girl into the family at an early age they could often avoid the tensions characteristic of the family created by the more formal marriage. But while there can be no doubt that many adoptions were motivated by the advantages of this alternative to the preferred marriage, it is also clear that this was not the only important reason for adopting female children. Our genealogies include 44 cases of adoptions by families which did not as yet have any male children. Since most families will not consider the marriage of an adopted daughter with one of her younger brothers, these adoptions were obviously not undertaken because of the advantage of one form of marriage over the other. In one case a family did arrange the marriage of an older girl with a later born son, but in every other case a second daughter was adopted if the family wanted to raise a wife for a younger son.

*585 *597 The most obvious reason for a childless family's adopting a female child is to use her as a means of bringing a son-in-law into the family. [597] Any form of patrilocal marriage is always preferred to any form of matrilocal marriage, but descendants obtained through a matrilocal marriage are better than no descendants at all. A family which does not see much hope of bearing children of their own may therefore adopt a girl as the only means of perpetuating their line. They would usually prefer

000 *583 • 591 family decision. The decisions which concern most families are how their children are to marry, not whether or not they should marry. Decisions about the sīn-pûa form of marriage must be made early in the family cycle, and so the alternatives at this point are the preferred form of marriage and some form of matrilocal marriage. A daughter may be married out of the family in the preferred way, or she may be used to bring a son-in-law into the family by means of a matrilocal marriage. A son may either be retained as a member of his natal family by means of the preferred marriage, or he may be alloued to marry out of the family to become a member of his wife's household. Since the decisions which many families make about the marriages of their daughters depend in large part upon the availability of men willing to make matrilocal marriages, we will begin our analysis with a discussion of some of the considerations which make men more or less willing to marry into a woman's family.

*583 591 558 As is the case in China generally, Hokkien men are usually reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage. According to an informant who had himself married matrilocally, one reason is that "no one ever respects a man who marries into his wife's family." Since a man's primary duty to his parents is to provide them with descendants and to support them in their old age, the man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often accused of being unfilial. Also, there is the widespread assumption that a man who makes such a marriage must be poor. A matrilocal marriage is one way in which a poor man can obtain a wife without paying a bride price, and so it is easily said of any man who makes such a marriage

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that "he couldn't even afford a bride price." Even if a man's parents are dead or living with one of his brothers and he is himself obviously capable of earning a living, he still cannot entirely avoid the onus of having married into his wife's family. It is generally understood that a man loses face by making a matrilocal marriage, and the man who makes such a marriage may therefore always be accused of "not caring about face." As is so often the case with stereotypes, this one is self-perpetuating. The very fact that a man makes a matrilocal marriage is sufficient proof that he is "just the kind of man who would marry into his wife's family."

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Another reason many men give for reluctance to marry matrilocally is the difficult position they would occupy in their wife's family. The man who makes a matrilocal marriage is often treated by his wife's relatives as though his status were closer to that of a child than an adult male. He is expected to defer to them in all matters, and he may be reprimanded and criticized without regard to his status. This was particularly noticeable in the case of a man by the name of Ong Bun-iek who had married into the family of a former prostitute who already had several illegitimate children at the time of their marriage. Living in a large compound in which he was surrounded by his wife's relatives, Ong Bun-iek was forever subjected to overweening authority. One day while we were talking to him one of his wife's children complained that he had given him less rice than he had given to his own children. Ong Bun-iek scolded the child, and when the boy wouldn't stop complaining, hit him. Ong Bun-iek's wife's father's

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578 younger brother happened to be in the room and said something to the effect that Ong Bun-iek was "always favoring his own children." Ong Bun-iek denied this whereupon the other man threw a package of ginger in his face, precipitating a fight which ended with both men wrestling on the floor of the kitchen. Although other members of the several families living in the house were quick enough in interfering to stop the fight, we noticed that there was no sympathy whatsoever for Ong Bun-iek's viewpoint. As one of his wife's relatives explained to us sometime later, "That man is always telling other people what to do even though he married into his wife's family and should be watching other people's faces."

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606 Should a man who has married matrilocally lose his ability to earn a living, his wife's relatives may even go so far as to force him out of the family. A matrilocal marriage seems to be an almost exclusively contractual relationship which does not create the broader social obligations characteristic of a patrilocal marriage. It is undertaken by the woman's parents with certain specific expectations in mind, and if these are not fulfilled the family does not feel any obligation toward the man who entered into such a contract. We know of at least two instances in which a woman's parents forced her husband out of the family because he was no longer making what they considered
D46 an adequate contribution to the family income. In one case the family had at first been unable to find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, and as a result had been forced to send their daughter out to work as a prostitute. A few years later she met a man who had a

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good job as a goldsmith in a local town, and when he seemed willing to make a matrilocal marriage the parents were happy to welcome the man into the family as a son-in-law. For a number of years these arrangements apparently worked well enough for both parties, but then in the sixth or seventh year of the marriage the man lost his job. Unable to find another job as a goldsmith, he tried to make a living peddling candies and toys and other small commodities, but he was apparently too old and too unaccustomed to the work to make any of these ventures pay. His wife's relatives then began to criticize him unmercifully until at last he simply took his two children and disappeared. Far from being distressed about this result, the wife's parents seemed to be relieved. According to her mother,

> "It is better not to get married than to marry this kind of a man. Everyone says that a woman will have an easier life after she gets married, but if you marry a man like this you have to grind harder than ever. That man! The first thing he said when he lost his job was that he was going to sell sweet rice, and so I bought all of the things for him, but when he went out he always brought all of the cakes home. Then he said he was going to sell pig's blood, and he worked for one day doing that. Then he tried to sell balloons and other things for children, but he couldn't make a success of that either. He always brought them all home with him. I didn't have any more money for him to try anything else. His wife said, 'Let's go gather rocks', but he said that it was too hard a kind of work for him and wouldn't go. Then he went out to buy junk, but he still just lost money for us. No one was willing to give him any more money after that, and so he just sat home. That's all. That kind of man! He had to let his wife go out and make money to feed him. Can you still call such a creature a man? When he went out to sell things he just sat there like he was dead and didn't call out to people. Of course he didn't sell anything. And just think of what he looks like. As soon as they took one look at him people wouldn't buy anything from him. And when we said a few words to him about it, he turned it around and said we were trying to get rid of him and that that was why we said things to him."

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] men. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [463] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

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1st Neighbor: "If he really wants a divorce, just let him come over here and put his chop on the registration card. Why go to all the trouble of a law court? Each of you can have one child. You give him the older one because he is easier to take care of, and you keep the little one for yourself."

2nd Neighbor: "Yes, don't go into the law courts and get all that trouble for yourself. And definitely don't let him take the little one with him. If you let him take the little one, you will have to have a coffin ready because he won't know how to take care of a sick baby. How would you know whether he would take good care of the child or not?"

1st Neighbor: "Oh, he would take good care of both of them. You can see how much he likes them from the way he acts when he comes here."

Mother: "I don't worry too much about his taking care of them. He really likes them very much, and his older brother's wife likes children too. It is just that some 'dead' person here went and told him that my daughter brought a boy friend home. How could she do that: She was just playing ma jong with a few friends, that's all. I hope the [598] person who told him'spits blood to death'."

3rd Neighbor: "If he wants the children, just give them to him and get rid of them. It's not so easy to take care of a lot of children. Do you think he likes them so much that he will really take them?"

Mother: "Well, I don't know about that, but I really do like to take care of them. I don't want to give them to him."

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In both of these cases the woman's parents had younger male children, and had arranged a matrilocal marriage only as a way to provide for the family until their sons could assume this responsibility. They were therefore not dependent upon their sons-in-law for support in their old age. When a family does not have any younger sons of their own, they are naturally somewhat more restrained in their treatment of a son-in-law. Also, the fact that his wife does not have any brothers usually makes a

583 591 606 man more tolerant of the treatment he receives from her parents. So long as he remains a member of the family he and his children will inherit the family property. But even in these somewhat more fortunate circumstances, many men find that they cannot bear the strain of a matrilocal marriage. One young coal miner who married into a village family remained only two months before running away with his wife. 583 591 606 578 Having only two adopted daughters to depend upon, his wife's mother was furious, even appealing to the gods to help her avenge herself. In her own words,

> "He was a worthless man who was unwilling to work, and he carried off my daughter even though I treated him very well. After they ran away we looked all through the bamboo groves along the river bank because we thought they might have jumped into the river. I was so good to him and yet he ran away with my daughter, and so I hated him. I asked the gods to let him be crushed to death in a mining accident. A year later when I heard that his shoulder had been broken in an accident I was very happy. But then he recovered, and I told the god that if he would let that man be killed I would burn a hundred sticks of incense to him in an open field. Later when my neighbors came and told me that he had been crushed beyond recognition in the mine I was so happy that I laughed and laughed. That was about ten years ago, and after that my daughter went to live with a peddlar. She still lives with him, but I don't see why. He is short and ugly. You would laugh yourself to death just to look at him."

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We have no way of knowing now who was primarily responsible for the failure of this particular marriage, but it was apparently not a simple case of the man's having "tricked" the family's daughter away from them. When we asked one of the neighbors why it was that he had run away if his mother-in-law treated him so well we received a caustic question in reply, "If she was so good to him why did they first search the river banks when he and his wife disappeared?"

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Aside from these various considerations which might make any man reluctant to marry matrilocally, there is also the unwillingness of most parents to see a son marry out of the family. All of the same reasons which make it important for a family to have male children make it equally important that these sons remain in the family. As a result, men who make matrilocal marriages are often men who are not bound by any family claims. The situation of a young villager by the name of Lim Liong-hong is perhaps a good example of the kinds of circumstances which may lead to a man's making a matrilocal marriage. Born as the illegitimate child of an adopted daughter who became a prostitute when her foster parents were unable to arrange a marriage for her, Lim Liong-hong was left for his mother's foster parents to raise when she married and moved to southern Taiwan. Since his foster grandparents had sons and grandsons of their own, they took little interest in Lim Liong-hong, allowing him to govern the course of his own life from the time he graduated from primary school. When we knew him he was living part of the time with his foster grandparents in Hsiachichou, and part of the time with a maternal relative in Panchiao where he was working in a paper mill. According to his grandmother, this family has only one child, an adopted daughter, and "so they treat him very well because they would like to have him marry into the family." She thinks this would be a good thing, and whenever Lim Liong-hong returns to the village she urges him to go back to Panchiao. "I tell him that if he stays there a while maybe he will get used to that girl, and after a

*583 while they may like one another and get married. He has no father and
*583 really no mother either, and so he doesn't have to worry about burning
• 591 incense for anyone."

Similar circumstances are evident in a number of cases of matrilocal marriages recorded in our genealogies. In one instance the man was an illegitimate child whose mother later married and bore several more children. Since the boy had been given his mother's maiden name, her marriage left him without any family responsibilities. In another case the man's father died when he was still a child, and his mother remarried, leaving the boy to be raised by his father's older brother. The father's older brother already had sons of his own, and so again the boy did not really have a family identity. A third case involved an illegitimate child whose mother died and whose father already had several sons by his wife. The boy's father's family raised him, but did not take an interest in his marriage because he did not bear their surname. One man who married into a family living in Hsiachichou was a traveling fortune teller who apparently did not have any family or home; another was the elderly goldsmith we have already mentioned who was also without a family; and in several other cases men who married into the village were mainlanders without families on Taiwan. We also know of two cases of matrilocal marriages by men who were the only surviving members of their family, and in one other case the man's only close relative was a a-ma whom he preferred not to marry. Although we do not know the background of all of the men in our genealogies who made matrilocal marriages, it would appear that at least half of them were men who had no family ties at the time of their marriage.

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Of the rest, those men who had families and still married matrilocally, almost all were sons of poor families with a number of male children. These were families who could not afford to pay a bride price for all of their sons, and who perhaps also saw some economic advantage in having one of them become an heir in another family. Of 13 such village men 11 had at least one older brother, and 7 had at least one younger brother. Our genealogies include only one case of an only son who made a matrilocal marriage, and this case is unusual in a number of respects. The son of a sīm-pûà who was allowed to marry out of her foster family in return for her first born child, the boy was adopted by his mother's foster brother and intended husband. For some reason this man never married, perhaps because he already had a son. At any rate, by the time the adopted son was old enough to marry, he was so poor that he was unable to afford a marriage for him. He had lost much of the family's money in an unfortunate business venture, and was unable to work because of a prolonged illness. He therefore arranged for his son to marry into a woman's family on the condition that the family take the responsibility for supporting him in his old age. Although we know of several cases in which men who married matrilocally brought their mothers to live with them, this is the only case in which a father went to live with his son when the boy married into his wife's family. The villagers themselves thought the arrangement extremely unusual, and they may have been right in suggesting that the father was mentally deranged. He himself told us that he had "died" several times only to be saved from the agents of the underworld by the god Tu Ti Kung.

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Considering the changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past thirty years, one would expect a decrease in the frequency of men making matrilocal marriages. As the village has become somewhat wealthier fewer families should have been forced to let a son marry out because they were unable to afford the price of a wife. In fact, however, there has been very little change in the frequency of matrilocal madriages by village men. Of 50 men born in the years before 1910, 7 (14 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 102 men born after 1910, 11 (11 percent) left their natal families by way of a matrilocal marriage. What appears to have happened is that the years since 1930 have produced more men like Lim Liong-hong married into their wife's family simply because they had no family of their own, so that even though there have been fewer men who have married matrilocally for financial reasons the rate of matrilocal marriage has not declined appreciably. So long as most children continue to be raised in large extended families there will probably always be some men willing to make matrilocal marriages. Whatever the disadvantage and dangers of such a marriage, it is preferable to a life of solitude and death in a lonely room without the comfort of relatives.

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When a woman marries into her husband's family there is very little possibility that the marriage will not succeed. His parents may repudiate the girl for any one of several reasons, but they seldom do so because of the expenses of obtaining another daughter-in-law. More often it is the daughter-in-law who would like to extricate herself from her husband's family, but this is even less feasible.

600 husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of
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593 the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She
591 cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is un-
[464] likely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

562 The situation is very different when it is the man who marries
591 into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

feed herself, but a man can always manage to earn at least enough to eat." The woman who cannot get along with her husband's parents has no alternative but "to swallow her anger," but the man who is at odds with his wife's parents can rely upon his own resources. Depending upon his age and his profession, this may be more or less of a hardship, but it is never the hardship that it would be for a woman who left her husband's family.

We have already seen that the in-law relationship created by the preferred patrilocal marriage is typically one of tension and hostility. Because of a common interest in the man who is the husband of the one and son of the other, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law often become involved in a bitter struggle. What saves the family from being torn asunder by this conflict are the strong ties which bind a son to his parents. Nothing could be clearer than the precept that a man must place his parents' welfare before the interests of his wife. "A man's parents are like his arms and legs; his wife is like his shirt and pants." Although a man may occasionally sympathize with his wife's quarrel with his mother, he would never abandon his parents for the sake of his wife. If she would sever ties with the family she must do it alone, and it is therefore virtually impossible for her to do it at all. The strength of the relationship between parent and child thus serves to balance the potentially disastrous tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The situation is again very different in the case of the matrilocal marriage. Here also one finds that a great deal of tension is generated

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by the entrance of an outsider into the family circle, but this tension is not effectively counteracted by the strength of the parent-child relationship. The matrilocal marriage does not create a structure which is a simple inverse of the structure resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The dyadic relationships of the Chinese family are defined in terms of a patrilocal family, so that even when a woman marries matrilocally her husband takes precedence over her parents. As a result, the crucial parent-child relationship is much weaker in a matrilocal marriage than in a patrilocal marriage. While a son would be severely criticized for siding with his wife against his parents, a woman who has married matrilocally may be criticized for siding with her parents. We heard several caustic remarks about a woman who was apparently in the habit of taking her parents' side in their quarrels with her husband. For example,

> "That woman! She already has two children, but she still sides with her father when he and her husband get into an argument. Where else could one find a woman like that? He married into her family, and so her father and mother are always saying things to him, but she always takes her parent's side. It is as though she were just married, and she already has two children.

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The matrilocal marriage is also weakened by personal tensions between the parents and their daughter. Since most families who arrange a matrilocal marriage do so because the wife is barren and has borne no sons, the great majority of women who make such a marriage are adopted daughters. Of 26 women for whom a matrilocal marriage was arranged 20 (77 percent) were adopted daughters. While these women are generally obedient in their relations with their parents, they are nonetheless not as loyal to the family as a son or a daughter. They know that they

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4 591 are adopted, and they naturally feel some resentment of the treatment
*593 they have received. In the case of the sim-pua marriage this does not
4 591 matter because the pivotal relationship is that of the son and his parents,
606 but it becomes a weakness in the matrilocal marriage where the adopted daughter becomes the crucial link. Moreover, whatever resentment a daughter may feel towards her parents is intensified by the fact that they have arranged a matrilocal marriage for her. It is assumed that no good man would ever make such a marriage, and so naturally no woman is ever happy to have to marry in this way. Just as the adopted daughter tends to blame all of the misfortunes of a lifetime on her parents' having given her away, the woman who marries matrilocally characteristically blames her marital dissatisfactions on her parents for having forced her into such a marriage. To cite but one example,

> "To marry this 'dead man' is to 'want to die." He married into my family, I didn't marry into his. I didn't want to marry him, but my foster parents insisted. At that time my father had lost a lot of money in business, and he wanted to marry someone in quickly who would make money. My husband was a coal miner then, and made good money, and so they talked him into marrying into my family. If I could have married the man I wanted to marry, I wouldn't be living this poorly now. That man is doing very well now."

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581 The family created by the matrilocal marriage is thus much more brittle than the family resulting from a patrilocal marriage. The tension inherent in the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship is offset in the case of the patrilocal marriage by the weakness of the daughter-in-law's position and the strong bond between a son and his parents, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage the relatively strong position of the son-in-law and the weak ties between the daughter and her parents little protection from the tensions between the newcomer and his wife's

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581 parents. As a consequence, a matrilocal marriage is much less likely to succeed than a patrilocal marriage. We do not know of a single case of a daughter-in-law's deserting her husband's family or a son's failing in his obligations to support his parents in their old age. By comparison, we know of at least 8 cases in which matrilocal marriages failed in their original purpose. Aside from the 2 instances in which the parents drove their son-in-law out of the family, our genealogies include 6 cases in which the son-in-law deserted of his own accord. In 3 of these cases the wife remained with her parents, and in 3 cases the husband persuaded his wife to bring the children and leave with him.

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581 We have already seen that it is "only a man who doesn't care about face" who will marry into his wife's family. Although the point is one which is not ordinarily made in discussions of matrilocal marriage in China, the woman's family does not lose face by arranging such a marriage for their daughter. The marriage does not enhace their status as would a preferred marriage, but neither is it something of which they must be ashamed. What concerns a family considering such a marriage is not what other people will say, but rather the question of the risks involved in such an arrangement. A family is always concerned that their son-in-law will not be a man of good character, for they too assume that no good man is ever willing to make such a marriage. More importantly, they are aware of the fact that such marriages are much less

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581 stable than patrilocal marriages. The man who is willing to marry into their family may desert them in their old age, and may even manage to "steal" their daughter and their grandchildren. In discussing the rela-

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tive merits of the various forms of marriage, we were told, "You can never tell what will happen when a man marries into your family. He may be a good man like Tan Han-cu's son, or he may be a man who is always gambling and running around. Maybe he will work hard for your family, but maybe he will run away with your daughter. You can't depend on it."

We therefore find that it is only when they have no other way of obtaining sons that parents will attempt to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. Of 26 village girls for whom matrilocal marriages were arranged 16 (62 percent) were daughters whose parents did not have any sons. Their sons had either died before reaching marriageable age, or they had the misfortune of never bearing any male children. In 8 of those 10 cases in which a family did have sons and still arranged a matrilocal marriage for a daughter, the sons were much younger than the daughter. By the time a man's eldest children reach marriageable age, he himself will be approaching an age at which he will no longer be able to support his family. If these older children are girls, he may be forced to bring a son-in-law in to support the family until his own sons are old enough to assume this responsibility. We can therefore say that so long as a family has a son of marriageable age they will almost never arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. The only two exceptions in our genealogies were cases in which the daughter herself initiated the marriage. In one case the marriage was a "love match" in which the man was escaping a marriage with a sīm-pûa, and in the other case the daughter was a prostitute who married a man she met

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"at work." The husband himself claims that he did not marry his wife's family even though he is living with her parents in Hsiachichou, but this is probably not true as one of their three children carries his wife's surname.

The matrilocal marriage might therefore be characterised as a last resort. So long as a family has sons who are old enough to marry they allow their daughters to marry in the preferred way, but when they have no sons of marriageable age they have no choice but to arrange a matrilocal marriage for a daughter. While this is a step that is always taken with reluctance, it is important to note that it is also taken with determination. Simply because this is their last resort, parents will not brook any resistance on the part of their daughter. So far as they are concerned the family's future and their own security in old age are at stake, and they are therefore willing to apply whatever pressure is necessary to make a daughter acquiesce. Occasionally it happens that no pressure is necessary. In one happy case a girl whose parents had no sons had the good fortune to be attracted to (and attractive to) a young man who did not have a family of his own. She was happy to marry this particular man under any circumstances, and her parents were delighted to find a man willing to marry into their family. When we asked her if her parents had approved of her choosing her own husband, she answered, smiling, "It isn't easy to find a man willing to marry into his wife's family." More commonly, however, this is not the case. As a result of the stereotype of "the kind of man who would

*583 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to
• 591 matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will
581 never make a good husband."

*584 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage,
591 the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of
581 marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage,
less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a
much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa
marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must
deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a
matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter
*562 comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist paren-
*584 tal pressure because of their potential economic independence, but
[464] daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although
there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory,
these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is there-
[463] fore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of
only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents
from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional
because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When
her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that
she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in
the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marri-
age, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She
was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

562 584 herself could earn as much money as any man who might be willing to marry into the family, and she had also provided them with a granddaughter and a grandson.

583 591 881 The decision which a family must make about the matrilocal form of marriage is thus very different from the choice between the two forms of patrilocal marriage. In choosing between the preferred marriage and the sīm-pûa marriage a family decides between two alternative ways of achieving the same goal. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but either will assure the family of a satisfactory posterity. The matrilocal marriage, on the other hand, is a form of marriage which is always to be avoided if at all possible, but which in certain situations becomes an absolute necessity. Rather than being a case of weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages, the choice sometimes becomes a matter of a family's achieving the goal of continuity or not. A family with sons will allow its daughters to marry out of the family, but a family which does not have sons has no real choice but to marry their daughters matrilocally. As a result, we find that even though the frequency of sīm-pûa marriages has declined sharply in the last thirty years, the frequency with which families have arranged matrilocal marriages for their daughters has not declined to any appreciable extent. There are families which still fail to produce sons, and there are therefore still families which are forced to arrange matrilocal marriages for their daughters. Of 41 girls born before 1910 and raised in Hsiachichou a total of 8 (19 percent) made matrilocal marriages, and of 100 girls born af-

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ter 1910 a total of 17(17 percent)made matrilocal marriages. Here again we find a demonstration of a point we have made several times already. Although many aspects of marriage and adoption have changed in Hsiachichou in recent years, the basic meaning and values of the family have not changed. When a decision about marriage or adoption involves the possibility of a family's not achieving the goal of genealogical continuity, they make and somehow manage to enforce whatever decision is necessary in order to achieve this goal.

589 return for his foster sister's having been allowed to marry out of the family. While this was probably not the reason he remained single, it [158] did at least make it possible. In another case a man was apparently prevented from marrying by a mental illness. Although he died a number of years before we came to the village, we were told that he was slow of mind "and stood shaking his head when you talked to him." [784] This is said to have been his punishment for making fun of the god Chi [796] Yeh who is always represented in festival parades as a short black- [828] faced deity with the habit of continually wagging his head to and fro. The other two cases involved two brothers whose departure from the normal pattern was almost certainly due to poverty. Although this family has lived in Hsiachichou for a number of generations they have [736] never owned any farm land or even a house site. One of their former [87] neighbors told us that even though he was first in his class the present head of the household was forced to quit school after the fourth grade "because the family couldn't afford the few dollars a year for [54] tuition and books." Although the brothers of these two men did manage to marry, it is significant that one of them had to marry matrilocally.

Of a total of 121 women who grew up in Hsiachichou at least 9 (7 percent) and perhaps 11 (9 percent) did not marry by the time they 588 were thirty years of age. One of the doubtful cases involves a woman by the name of Tan A-giok who was in her mid-forties in 1960. According to several of our informants, Tan A-giok's parents arranged for a man to marry into her family, but he didn't stay "because her mother was always saying things to him. He just couldn't stand it, and so he left

548 Aside from those cases of unmarried women who have worked as prostitutes, our genealogies also include 10 cases of women who have married and who have also been prostitutes at one time or another. In 8 of these 10 cases the women were prostitutes before they married, and in 2 cases married women turned to prostitution when their marriages • 591 failed. Those who married after their work in brothels included three women who married into their husband's family, 4 who married matrilocally, and one case in which the status of the marriage is somewhat ambiguous. This last case is interesting because it reveals the villagers' assumptions about the conditions which result in a matri- *583 591 local marriage. After having worked for a number of years in Taipei hotels, a woman by the name of Pe A-hong met and married a wealthy Cantonese businessman. By the time of her marriage Pe A-hong had already borne one female child and adopted another. She later bore her husband two sons and a daughter. Since she was the only child of her parents and an adopted daughter at that, Pe A-hong's mother apparently insisted that she could marry only if her husband was willing to accept financial responsibility for his wife's family. As a result, the family which settled in Hsiachichou consisted of Pe A-hong and her husband, her mother, the two daughters who bore her maiden name, and the three younger children who had all taken their father's name. Pe A-hong's mother now tells her neighbors that her daughter's husband married into her family, and with any other family the facts are such that this would be accepted without question. The man lives with his wife's parents; he has agreed to take financial responsibility

for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a woman by the name of Lim Li-khui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-khui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their own, and they had adopted sīm-pûa for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-khui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to their eldest son, but Lim Li-khui and the boy "didn't get along and so she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 4

[p.36]

LIM HAN-CI: THE FATHER

The desire to simplify the character of the dead, to be done with the variations of mood that complicate day to day interactions, to indulge in the luxury of absolutes, seems to be a universal human tendency. The father of the present head of the Lim family has been dead for less than a decade, but already the story-tellers of Peihotien have woven the many anecdotes about him into the uncertain fabric of legend. Lim Han-ci's dour personality, his tremendous strength, his harshness, the determination with which he worked—all have become part of the legend. Even when the saga is modified by reminiscences of those who knew him as father, grandfather, or trusted friend, there emerges a personality from which epics are born. He was a hard man. He spoke little and then only after putting considerable thought into his choice of words. His temper terrified his family and neighbors, and he used it more as a technique he summoned at will than a fault he could not control. His justice was as harsh as his voice. Although liberties may have been taken with Lim Han-ci's character since his death, the fact remains that he has had no small effect on his children and on his community.

If Lim Han-ci had any brothers, they died before marriage. A married brother would have left descendants in the village, and there were none. Whether or not Lim Han-ci had sisters is difficult to say. I was never introduced to a sister or a sister's child, but this does not mean they do not exist. Women marry out of their natal village and often their children lose all contact with their mother's relatives. All I could learn of Lim Han-ci's childhood is that his father earned a

description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [20] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [454] [888]

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
• 591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
• 591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[183] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
[62] 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

592 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the
562 arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be [624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the
621 means by which they entered the village are indicative of
541 the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their de-
591 scendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the fol-
621 lowing is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 30 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight
621 from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As pre-
166 viously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Szulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
2 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
592 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

582 li exogamy. Although most brides came from villages within two or three miles of Sanlei, brides brought from central Taiwan carry the most prestige.

591 The most highly rated form of residence after marriage is patrilocal, i.e., the bride joins her husband in his natal home. Neolocal marriage, which results when either the bride and groom establish a new residence by themselves or the bride joins her husband in a place where he is living alone, is not uncommon. Many research reports describing Taiwanese marriage which are based on official records have combined neolocal marriages with the figures for patrilocal marriages resulting in an inflated percentage for the latter (P.K.C. Liu, 1967) because the category of wife joins husband in the records applies equally to either. Some marriages, especially in the recent period, do not fit these traditional anthropological categories. Some young people are living and working in town. They marry in the village but immediately establish a new residence in town with an underlying intention to return to the village in two or three years when the wife has a baby in order to live patrilocally.

Selecting a Spouse

584 From the point of view of the marriage partners there are three different marriage procedures for obtaining a spouse. The original form is the "arranged marriage,"

Chao Fu (Adopted-in Husband)

171 583 591 In order to continue the family line and provide descendants to carry on ancestor worship, a man may bring in a wife for his son as described above. However, some families will have daughters but no sons. There is a culturally specified means for overcoming the problem, the adopted-in husband, chao fu, a culture trait which is found all over China (Gallin, 1966:155-6; Fei, 1939:71-2; Hsu, 1967:98-103). It is often called a matrilocal marriage although China is classified as a patrilocal society (Murdock, 1967:196). Its frequency is yet to be properly assessed for a few statistics are ever provided. Fei lists 12 examples for Kaihsienkung and states that this is significant but provides no percentages (1939:72). Gallin lists six such marriages for Hsin Hsing, again without percentages, but states that it is "difficult to see any tendency for or against the practice in Hsin Hsing" (1966: 188). Only in West Town does the practice appear to be frequent where one third to one half of the marriages are matrilocal (Hsu, 1967:98). However, there is a serious question as to whether or not West Town is in the mainstream of Chinese culture (Hsu, 1967:17).

178 583 591 The exact numbers of matrilocal marriage in Taiwan based on official records provided by Barclay for the period from 1906 to 1943 (1954:229) indicate a steady decline from a high of 21.8% in 1906 to a low of 6.2% in

178 1943. The decline appears to continue for the P. K. C.
583 Liu study in 1967 for Shihlin indicates less than 5% of the
591 households were matrilocal (1967:34). No matter what year is selected from the above as a standard, Sanlei is deviant. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, nineteen were regular matrilocal with an adopted-in husband and six more are also classified as matrilocal, an adopted-in husband for a daughter who had been previously adopted-in as a child. Twenty-five such marriages constitute 26.6% of the total studied, a percentage higher than Barclay lists above for any year in Taiwan, even 1906. Only Wolf furnishes exact figures based on full data acquired ethnographically for a village also located in the Taipei region. Among 119 married men, 26 were chao fu (1966:889) resulting in a percentage of 21.8% which is not unlike Sanlei's 26.6%.

114 Barclay's figures regarding this form of marriage
583 are questionable. He reports that there were significant
591 problems in translation for "the terms are Japanese and the facts Chinese" (1954:228). Furthermore, he points out that other compromises may be made, the marrying male may assume the wife's surname (1954:228) and this could make errors in
[559] records. As discussed by Gallin (1966:156-8) and Barclay (1954:229), because the adopted-in husband loses his dignity and authority and is often insulted, there would be strong reasons favoring an attempt to conceal the true incidence.

114 incidence. P. K. C. Liu also points out that the percent-
583 age listed is probably lower than the actual frequency
591 (1967:60). An original matrilocal marriage may now be considered patrilocal because either the girl's parents are dead or the couple, after some years in the matrilocal residence, had established a new residence.

591 A family without a son but with a daughter, natural
593 or adopted, can assure the continuation of the family by this procedure of matrilocal or adopted-in husband marriage. At marriage, the groom becomes part of the family of the bride. The degree of his incorporation is established through negotiation. Often, the ceremony itself is the mirror image of a regular wedding, celebrated at the bride's home rather than the groom's, arranged by a matchmaker and with the identical establishment of ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationships between the two families. The forms of "arranged," "veto," and "love" described above may be identical.

583 The conditions of the marriage contract may vary
584 but there is always an agreement that the new family and
769 some or all of its descendants will continue the worship of the ancestors in the bride's home. Although the agreement is often written, a few villagers prefer an oral agreement because a written agreement looks too much like a potential court case. Sometimes, conflict later occurs with reference to the terms of the agreement. Most often,

584 would only result in trouble for "young people make more
178 decisions today" (see Glossary C). The frequency of
[661] sisosiv marriage is inversely related to prosperity and directly related to the lessening power of older generations over younger generations.

Implications of Marriage Forms

591 The variety of marriage residences are particularly
606 significant for the status of women. The major stress for the bride in her new home largely originates from the groom's mother according to the traditional literature (see Chapter X). Combining the 12.8% sisosiv marriages in which the bride was raised in the groom's home with the 25.6% of the brides who married chao fu and thus did not move to the groom's home at marriage and then adding in the "neolocal" forms suggests that close to half of all brides in Sanlei do not have the kind of "mother-in-law" problem in their homes so characteristic of the Chinese literature.

Reasons for Adopting Daughters

597 There are a number of different reasons for the adoption of a daughter. Gallin lists, in addition to a future mate for a son as discussed above, such reasons as no children in the family, to replace a dead infant, to invite a natural baby boy (chao ti), and as a servant (1966:161-3). These reasons are also common in Sanlei except that the last is very rare and, of course, always

584 In the veto form, the prospective groom accompanies his parents and the matchmaker to the girl's house and while the adults chat and the girl serves tea and cookies, the boy and girl look each other over or alternatively, they may attend the same affair in separate groups such as a movie while negotiations are in process. Each then has the right to say no but this is rarely so boldly stated. Examples of veto statements include such as, "He doesn't look very strong." "Doesn't he look sickly?" "She looks like she might have expensive tastes." Acceptance statements are, "You know best." "Whatever you think." (See Glossary C.) One recently married village boy vetoed five girls before getting married but now claims to have a fully-arranged marriage. Another claims the same, stating he and his bride first met at the wedding, although both grew up in the same village which had a total population under 400 and both were on the same tag-ball team in school.

Finally, after a couple make a love match, they often go through the whole process of negotiations with a matchmaker as if the proposal was not a foregone conclusion. Love matches are extremely common among older couples or the remarriage of widowers or widows.

a 591 In terms of residence after marriage, there are three major forms: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. Patrilocal is most common and still carries the highest prestige. As discussed in Chapter V, matrilocal marriages are more frequent in Sanlei than in Taiwan as a whole. Neolocal

591 marriages are most often of the love type. There is difficulty in assigning individual cases to a type of standard
584 residence categories. For example, in one form of marriage,
591 sisosiv, the girl is adopted as a baby and the future
591 spouses are raised as brother and sister so that when the marriage occurs there is no change of residence for either. The original adoption can not be classified as part of the marriage for at the time of the adoption, the completion of the marriage is not certain. The girl may yet be married out in the same way as a natural daughter.

591 Another problem influencing the classification of residence is related to the time the census is made. There are such limited quantities of land that a son may get a job in town while his father works the farm. His marriage is celebrated in his father's house in the village but he and his wife, who may continue working, establish residence near his job (neolocal). However, when his wife has a child or when his father starts to become feeble, he returns to the village and takes over the farm, living in his father's house (patrilocal). Another example of a problem in classification which depends on the time of the census may be found in the case of an adopted-in husband (matrilocal) who may later establish his own home (neolocal).

592 Another means of classifying marriages is on the basis of the origins of spouses. Aside from the adopted daughter, there is a strong preference for village exogamy

562 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women
593 alike in Sanlei village:
522

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 The above discussion of many domineering wives and
593 henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all
591 houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

562
[591] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many
[595] households have officially registered female heads. W.
562 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a
592 woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as